InDu Data E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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7.77
76.5 involves saving their names as small quantities of food are set aside for them. Death feasts are given primarily for parents or grandparents. Such feasts, which may be precipitated by illness but nevertheless give prestige, may reproduce for the individual the positive and negative emotions that cluster around child training and are reinforced by the funeral organization.

SACRIFICES

7.57
● 2.61 The motif of sacrifice or feeding occurs over and over again, not only in relation to the dead but in relation to all supernatural beings. Feeding is the chief cultural tool for symbolizing social euphoria and for placating supernatural beings. Since the experiences of individual children, with respect to hunger and disciplinary intimidation, vary greatly, it is to be expected that in adults also attitudes toward sacrifice will vary in the "depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy."* Mangora begins his autobiography with sixty successive of a period of hunger, is engrossed with accounts of his gardening processes and with details of food values, and finally accuses sacrifices associated with the cure of his sacred hearth. Tilapala begins the story of her childhood with tales of quarrels. She interprets subsequent anxiety dreams as warnings that she has not placated the proper spirits, but she continues to neglect them. One man is conscientious and regular in making food sacrifices to his ancestors, another neglects them until illness indicates that he has angered the supernaturals.

7.51
7.53 Individual childhood experiences in respect to hunger and discipline may find modes of expression in institutionalized fields, and certain institutions are reinforced because of the personal emotional contexts that can be directed into them. One must be careful not to see such acts as sacrifice and childhood experience as exclusive causal sequences. It would be ludicrously antihistorical to say that childhood feeding habits gave rise to a system of sacrifice in Alorese. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread institution custom. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that obedience was expected of children, that running away was a means of avoiding disciplinary harshness, and that children conformed against their wishes only when overwhelmed by a superior force. These are the sources of most Alorese' attitudes toward sacrifices and death feasts. As a rule they are offered only when the material pressure is such that it seems preserving the health, prestige, or well-being of one's family.

I suggest that it would be very difficult to condition sacrifice so long

* Quoted from Kain, in Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir (Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941).

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83 no new directions are encountered. What we will see henceforth is merely the working through of the old constellations in relation to the social goal of status.

87 It is the answer to the question, "What do I think of myself?" that
89 can supply us with some information about the source from which the quest for prestige derives its motive power. The wish to be equal to, or better than, another is really a reflection of an internal need to think well of oneself. In this regard the Alorese quest for prestige has a very strong internal function, since at no time in the life cycle of the individual does he have the opportunity to think highly of himself. The male especially emerges into childhood with a profound feeling of unworthiness. It would be reasonable to expect therefore to find the male strongly oriented prestigeward, which would be less marked in the female. To how this can be observed that within limits it is the men who steal and ask for payment, the women do not. Women ensure gifts, men do not. Women share with others, men do not. The father is the chief beneficiary of the bride-price dealings, the mother much less so. The men seek compensations in dress and regalia, the women do not. The sensitivity to personal defects, that is, the weaknesses, may be expressed in the men as compared with the women. It is the male who is predominantly mortified to have any derogatory epithet leveled at him. The men eat first when guests are present, and the women eat later. Every opportunity is exercised by men, both through the rights over children and through chivalry, to cancel out the deep feeling of unworthiness.

93 The role of money is therefore an important factor in the effort to
95 establish security. Interestingly enough the wealth quest is not in the form of an actual accumulation of goods and coins. Emphasis falls rather on the fact that money gives one control over others, and this is what really sells the story. A few rupes another person owes that you can at your will convert into hens or pigs. The stability to control the
97 another was the most signal defect of childhood. If we can alleviate this
87 defect to any room, it is really to an end use, for it is accompanied by
86 intense feelings of guilt and envy. The general elegance about fund is evidently derived from real frustrations, a fact which is strongly supported by the consideration that there is no coercive and training in childhood.

115 The accumulation of wealth is obviously not free of dangers. The
116 fact that large displays of wealth are thought to cause illness, which in
117 turn can be remedied by giving a feast, indicates the anxiety that attends the accumulation of wealth, because it means that the individual

[59] bring us some more in your basket." [Did you want us?] Yes. They were my older brothers, and so I said I would. [What did your mother say?] She said that since my older brothers had come in, I had better take them some more.

[I asked whether she felt that they usually had less food in their house than others had in theirs. She didn't seem to grasp the idea.] If [24] [25] [26] [27] [28] anyone is hungry and hasn't food, one can work for another person and will be given a bundle of corn in payment. Or if one hasn't enough, a friend may help by inviting one to come dig in the garden for others. [Did your mother have such a friend?] Yes, Kolangkalaiwa. [The mother of her own friend, Kolaro. The mother is also called simply Kolang in this account.]

[Long pause. I told her to go ahead. She sighed heavily. This was the first time she had permitted herself this sort of emotional expression.] Occasionally, if Kolangkalaiwa ate all day and didn't go to her garden, mother would put rations she had dug into a coconut dish and give them to her. When Kolangkalaiwa went to Fla, where she had a garden, she would bring us back kanari nuts and give them to us to eat.

[I asked about the older sister, Falopang, who was sick.] Once when I was playing, Falopang and mother stayed in the house. When they cooked, mother said, "Don't save any for Lomani, we is all up." [Why?] [29] [30] [31] Because mother told me to wait until the food had all been served before beginning to eat and said I should eat with my sisters, all of us together. So I said, "If that is so, I don't want to eat." And I went away. Then Falopang took one spoonful for herself and the other she put aside for me. She ate every other spoonful, she hid the half she had saved for me, so mother would not see it. Then when I came home Falopang called to me to come up, and she gave me the food she had saved. She said, "Mother is often angry, and she didn't want to save food for you, but here is some." Then Falopang saw me for greens. We added them to what Falopang had cooked, and we ate together. Then Falopang said I should go fetch some bamboo so that she could make me a basket. When I went out, Falopangmai and Kawainai wanted to come too, so all three of us went. We brought it back, and Falopang wove us baskets. She made big ones for the older ones and a little one for me. She overhaid them with two handles. She knew how to overlay either the whole basket or only the top and bottom. She said, "The big ones are for you, and you can fetch corn and greens in them. The little one is for Lomani, and she can fetch grasshoppers."

[31] [32] [33] [34] [35] Once there was a dance in Abelkowati. The day before, Falopangmai